

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

EYES ONLY--FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER FROM TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL HANDLING OF TURKISH PACKAGE

1. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH DENIS CLIFT CONCERNING THE CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY IN LIGHT OF THE LATEST GUIDANCE FROM MR. VANCE AND ZBIG. DENIS AND DAVID AARON HAVE TALKED WITH MONDALE. THE VICE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ON THE PHONE AFTER YOU ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON ON SATURDAY. APPARENTLY HE WANTS TO HAVE YOU WITH HIM WHEN HE TALKS TO SARBANES AND BRADEMAs ON MONDAY. HE BELIEVES THAT YOU AND HE CAN WORK OUT TIMING AND STRATEGY WHEN YOU TALK ON THE PHONE.

2. WE HAVE PREPARED OUR OWN IDEAS ON CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY PLUS TALKING POINTS FOR THOSE WHO WILL BE DOING THE CONTACT WORK ON THE HILL. CLIFT AND AARON DO NOT WISH THIS MATERIAL SENT TO THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY UNTIL YOU AND MONDALE HAVE TALKED. HOWEVER, TO GIVE YOU SOMETHING TO
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THINK ABOUT ON THE AIRPLANE AND TO GIVE YOU SOME IDEA OF OUR THINKING, I AM SENDING YOU THE PAPER THAT WILL, IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, GO TO MR. VANCE AND ZBIG FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION AFTER YOUR TALK WITH MONDALE. I NEED HARDLY ADD THAT THESE TALKING POINTS ARE NOT WHAT WILL BE REQUIRED FOR YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH SARBANES AND BRADEMAs, BUT YOU WILL KNOW BETTER THAN ANYONE WHAT YOU WILL WANT TO SAY TO THESE

TWO.

3. "CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY FOR TURKISH PACKAGE," BEGIN TEXT:

4. GIVEN YOUR DECISION ON THE TIMING OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL HANDLING OF THE TURKISH PACKAGE, WE WANT TO LET YOU HAVE OUR THINKING ON THE STRATEGY.

5. WE WILL SEEK TO BEGIN CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON APRIL 3, WHEN MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS RETURN TO WASHINGTON. WE WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO UTILIZE MATT NIMETZ AND GEORGE VEST, WHO ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO EXPLAIN OUR PACKAGE AND TO SOLICIT CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT. IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT HAMILTON BELIEVES A STRENUOUS AND EARLY EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO ENLIST INFLUENTIAL DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE, AND TO TALK TO REPUBLICANS WHOSE VOTES MAY BE PIVOTAL. HAMILTON THINKS MANY REPUBLICANS ARE PRIMARILY ORIENTED TOWARD THE SECURITY ISSUE AND WILL BE DISAPPOINTED THAT WE ARE NOT GOING FORWARD WITH THE DCA AND THAT OUR BASES IN TURKEY MAY NOT BE IMMEDIATELY REOPENED. HAMILTON SUGGESTS WE TALK TO THESE REPUBLICANS QUICKLY, EXPLAINING HOW WE HOPE TO HAVE THE BASES REOPENED AS PART OF THE U.S.-TURKISH BASE RENEGOTIATIONS.

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6. TAKING ALL THESE FACTORS INTO CONSIDERATION, WE BELIEVE ON THE HOUSE SIDE, THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT SHOULD TALK TO BRADEMANS, ROSENTHAL AND TIP O'NEILL. NIMETZ AND VEST SHOULD AT A MINIMUM SEE ZABLOCKI, BROOMFIELD, BUCHANAN, FINDLEY AND RHODES AND HAMILTON ON MONDAY. DOUG BENNET, NELSON LEDSKY AND RAY EWING CAN BRIEF FASCELL, CLARENCE LONG AND BILL YOUNG.

7. ON THE SENATE SIDE, THE VICE PRESIDENT SHOULD CALL SARBANES AND EAGLETON. WE ALSO THINK THE VICE PRESIDENT OR ZBIG SHOULD TALK TO SENATOR LEADER BYRD ABOUT THE TURKISH PROGRAM ON MONDAY. VEST, NIMETZ, EWING, BENNET AND LEDSKY WILL BRIEF THE FOLLOWING KEY SENATORS WHOSE SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL TO MOVE THE TURKISH PACKAGE THROUGH THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE: SPARKMAN, CASE, CLARK, GLENN, STONE, JAVITS, BAKER, GRIFFIN, BIDEN, PERCY AND CHURCH. THE FOLLOWING SENATORS OUTSIDE THE COMMITTEE SHOULD ALSO BE BRIEFED BECAUSE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE TURKISH PROGRAM COULD BE CRUCIAL: INOUE, MATHIAS, MUSKIE, STENNIS, CANNON AND NUNN. THESE BRIEFINGS WILL ALSO BEGIN THIS WEEKEND AND RUN INTO

MONDAY.

8. SUBMITTED BELOW FOR YOUR APPROVAL IS A SET OF DRAFT TALKING POINTS WHICH WE WOULD PLAN TO USE FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS:

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS REVIEWED THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND HAS DEVELOPED A SERIES OF PROPOSALS RELATED TO GREECE AND TURKEY FOR FY 1979 WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU PRIVATELY AND SEEK YOUR ACTIVE SUPPORT IN MOVING THEM THROUGH THE CONGRESS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO ASK CONGRESS TO REPEAL
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SECTION 620 (X) OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, THAT IS, TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. THE EMBARGO WAS MANDATED BY CONGRESS IN 1975 IN RESPONSE TO TURKISH USE OF U.S. WEAPONS ON CYPRUS. ITS IMPOSITION AND MAINTENANCE OVER THREE YEARS CONFIRMED AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE, BUT WE BELIEVE ITS CONTINUATION ENTAILS SERIOUS RISKS TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY, TO THE SECURITY OF NATO AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND IMPEDES RATHER THAN ADVANCES PROSPECTS FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS ALSO DECIDED AGAINST ASKING CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE 1976 TURKISH/U.S. DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT. BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY HAVE AGREED THAT THIS DOCUMENT NO LONGER PROVIDES AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR OUR BILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP AND NEEDS TO BE RENEGOTIATED TO MEET CURRENT CONDITIONS. THE RENEGOTIATION WILL BEGIN SHORTLY, AND WE REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT THROUGH THIS PROCESS A WAY CAN SOON BE FOUND TO REACTIVATE OUR INTELLIGENCE FACILITIES IN TURKEY, WHICH HAVE BEEN CLOSED SINCE 1975. AS YOU KNOW, OUR NATO BASES IN TURKEY HAVE BEEN OPERATING DURING THIS WHOLE PERIOD.

-- THE PRESIDENT WILL ASK CONGRESS TO PROVIDE FMS CREDITS FOR FY 1979 TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY AT THE SAME LEVELS AS IN FY 1978. THIS MEANS DOLS 175 MILLION FOR TURKEY AND DOLS 140 MILLION FOR GREECE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT FOR GREECE THE DOLS 140 MILLION FIGURE REFLECTS AN INCREASE FROM THE DOLS 122 MILLION PRESENTED IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S JANUARY BUDGET SUBMISSION.

-- THE PRESIDENT ALSO INTENDS TO ASK THE CONGRESS TO AUTHORIZE A DOLS 50 MILLION SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE
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LOAN FOR TURKEY FOR FY 1979. THIS AMOUNT IS DESIGNED TO SUPPORT THE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION PLAN RECENTLY AGREED TO BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE IMF AND THEREBY HELP A DEMOCRATIC TURKEY THROUGH THE VERY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IT NOW FACES.

-- THIS OVERALL PACKAGE WILL NOT COMPLETELY SATISFY THE TURKS, THE GREEKS OR THE CYPRIOTS. WE THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THE PACKAGE IS BALANCED AND FAIR, THAT IT PROVIDES SUFFICIENT INDUCEMENTS TO CONVINCE TURKEY TO MAINTAIN ITS WESTERN ORIENTATION, WHILE PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR IT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS.

-- THIS PACKAGE SHOULD NOT BE READ AS ANY LESSENING OF THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO A CYPRUS SOLUTION. FROM ITS FIRST DAYS, THIS ADMINISTRATION PLEDGED TO WORK INTENSIVELY TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT; THIS DETERMINATION HAS NOT FLAGGED.

-- PROGRESS TOWARD THIS GOAL HAS ADMITTEDLY BEEN PAINFULLY SLOW, BUT THE EMBARGO ON TURKEY HAS NOT AND WILL NOT HELP THE SITUATION. ITS REMOVAL SHOULD FREE ECEVIT TO MAKE THE MOVES ON CYPRUS WHICH HE HAS TOLD US HE WANTS TO MAKE AND WHICH HE ARGUES ARE IN TURKISH INTERESTS. INDEED, WE UNDERSTAND THE TURKISH SIDE WILL SOON MAKE PROPOSALS COVERING BOTH THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION. OUR HOPE WOULD BE THAT THESE PROPOSALS WILL LEAD TO A RESUMPTION OF INTER-COMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM.

-- WE INTEND TO OUTLINE OUR PROGRAM FIRST BEFORE LEE HAMILTON'S EUROPEAN SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HIRC ON THURSDAY, APRIL 6, AND THEN TO PRESENT IT TO OTHER COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS. WE MUST ANTICIPATE OPPOSITION TO THIS PROGRAM, BUT THE SITUATION IN THE AREA IS AT BEST STAGNATING WITH SUCH RISKS TO OUR OWN

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INTERESTS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS CONCLUDED THAT WE CAN WAIT NO LONGER.

-- WE HOPE WE CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT IN SPONSORING THIS PACKAGE AND IN WORKING TOWARD ITS PASSAGE IN THE CONGRESS.

9. FOR PLANNING PURPOSES AND IN ORDER TO PLAY FAIR WITH
HAMILTON, WE WOULD REALLY LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER THE SECRE-
TARY WILL MAKE THE APRIL 6 HEARINGS OR WHETHER HE PREFERS
THAT WARREN CHRISTOPHER TAKE ON THIS JOB.

END TEXT OF PAPER. COOPER

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